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treaty, which at the time did something for the progress of justice, has gone none too soon. International treaty making, like everything else international, has needed thorough-going reformation.

There is no doubt, furthermore, that the moral effect of the Hague Conferences and Conventions has been, silently, powerful in determining the conduct of the governments which have been involved in the Balkan events. These governments, all of which are parties to the Hague Conventions, have been more patient, less rash, less selfish, — selfish as one or two of them have been, — more respectful of the rights of others than heretofore. They have clearly made a studied and sincere effort to prevent the outbreak of war, and to bring about such a readjustment in that region as will render peace more secure in the future.

Fear of the results of a war has unquestionably played its part. But that is by no means a base and unworthy motive. Recklessness as to what war might bring forth has been one of the worst follies and iniquities of the past in Europe. It is an encouraging evidence of growing moral elevation that the nations have become increasingly afraid of war.

There have been, we are quite aware, exhibitions of greed and unrestrained passion in the occurrences. The annexation by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia and Herzegovina savors of the base and avaricious spirit which has dominated so much of European politics, while Serbia's wrath and blusterings have made it all too clear that the spirit out of which war springs is still in places very much alive. But that these exhibitions of greed and passion have been so few, and that they have been for the most part held in check by wise councils in a region where violence and unparalleled disorder have so long held the upper hand, has been the amazing thing.

What the full and final outcome will be, no one can yet foresee; but that the general result will be the material advancement of justice, political liberty, order and peace in that long distracted quarter of the world, no one can reasonably doubt. Everywhere throughout the Ottoman Empire people of all races and religions have joined in the most enthusiastic rejoicings over the changes which have taken place in the government. The people have evidently been long tired and sick of the old order and ready for the transformation. This fact alone makes it certain that the new order has come to stay.

The Conference of the Powers, now agreed upon, when it meets to consider the infringements of the Berlin treaty, will not consent to see political liberty put back in the Balkans by the reduction of Bulgaria to her former position as a vassal of Turkey, even if the Turkish government should wish it. The new régime at Constantinople, with its vast possibilities for Asiatic as well as European Turkey, will be recognized and confirmed. One could wish that the act of Austria-Hungary in appropriating Bosnia and

Herzegovina might be condemned and annulled by the Conference and these states allowed freely to determine their own political future. That would be a deed worthy of a great conference of powers holding themselves to be enlightened and civilized.

There is one other thing that the Conference ought to do if it wishes to complete the foundations for permanent quiet and good understanding in that region; it ought to neutralize the Black Sea and permanently remove all armed vessels from it, and open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the vessels of commerce of all nations at all times. It ought to be easy to persuade the four nations whose territories border upon the Black Sea — namely, Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria and Roumania — to agree to this neutralization, as it would save them all, especially the two greater powers, great expense in the maintenance of their Black Sea naval establishments. An agreement to this effect would be in accord with the spirit and practice of the times. Nothing could be more effective in completing the transformation which has been going on, so as to insure for all time peace and goodwill in the whole Black Sea region.

### A Bizarre Peace Congress.

A Peace Congress in which militarism, in one or another of its forms, gets incidental support from certain members, as is frequently the case in peace meetings, is one thing; a Peace Congress, so-called, whose avowed aim is to promote, along with certain peace measures, the building up of a big and ever bigger navy, in rivalry with other nations, like that held last month in North Carolina, is quite another thing. It is not intolerant to say that such a congress, in whose program the big navy idea holds the most conspicuous place, has no right to give itself out as a Peace Congress, any more than a wolf in sheep's clothing is justified in labeling himself "a sheep, a whole sheep and nothing but a sheep."

It has been reserved for "these last days," when the peace movement is rapidly approaching its consummation, when arbitration is already the settled practice of the nations, to witness the amazing spectacle of a Peace Congress announcement whose front page was adorned with the picture of a gigantic battleship. The peace fathers, two generations and more ago, great as they were in mental insight and fertility of imagination, never dreamed of such a thing as possible, on the part of the friends of war, as making the last and deadliest instruments of the system which the peacemakers had set out to overthrow serve as the symbols and agencies of the kingdom of brotherhood and concord which they proposed to try to establish in the earth. They were well acquainted with the fertility and shrewdness of the devotees of war in inventing decorations to cover its hideous form, and far-fetched arguments to make it

seem a glorious and saintly business, but they never suspected that this enemy of the human race would some day attempt to play such a trick on the friends of peace as he has done in the case of the "North Carolina Peace Program."

"Adequate armament and effective arbitration," — that is the program, — not of North Carolina certainly, but of a few individuals, or rather of one man, Hayne Davis, who has pretended to speak for the North Carolina peace workers, many of whom have been amazed and indignant at his boldness. The "adequate armament" of this program means, not the navy of the United States at its present state of efficiency, but, according to the interpretations of Mr. Davis and his spokesman, Congressman Hobson, a colossal naval establishment increasing at the rate of from four to ten Dreadnaughts a year, which will give us fleets on both our Atlantic and Pacific Coasts greater than those which any other nation has put there or can put there.

And this program, the carrying out of which, if attempted, in competition with other nations, would ultimately cost the country from five hundred to a thousand millions a year, a program fervidly approved by President Roosevelt and supported body, soul and spirit by all the army and navy journals, is boldly launched in North Carolina as a *practical peace* program, a *real peace* program! In reality, it is not a program of peace at all, but a big-navy program sugar-coated so as to catch unwary pacifists. The "effective arbitration," which of course all peace workers want, and which we already have to a much fuller extent than many suppose, is so over-shadowed by the "adequate armament" feature of the program that nearly all attention is drawn away from it. The *Independent* (October 8) is entirely justified in the suspicion that this Davis-Hobson movement, the latest public expression of which was the "North Carolina Peace Congress" held at Greensboro, October 13 to 15, "is a scheme to pull the wool over the eyes of the peace workers. By giving the pacifists a few crumbs of support in their dreams for an ultimate peace on earth, it is hoped that their opposition to our government's insidious militaristic program may be weakened." To which the editor of the *Independent* adds: "All talk of insuring peace by increasing armaments is saddening, retrogressive and wicked."

The North Carolina Peace Congress, planned for last spring and then put off, has finally been held according to the program announced. We give elsewhere in this issue such account of it as it was possible to make up from Greensboro papers sent us. It does not seem to have been a very large and enthusiastic demonstration, only four meetings being held. None of the leading well-known peace workers of the country — Carnegie,

Burton, Bartholdt, Foster, Bryan, or the leaders of the peace organizations — were invited to take part in it. The big armament idea was prominent throughout the proceedings. The resolutions, which we print in full, show that the Congress was induced to give its approval, by a small vote, to the Davis-Hobson insane policy of trying to promote the peace of the world by enlarging the United States navy to such colossal proportions as to dominate the two great oceans which wash our shores, and frighten all the nations, little and big, into falling tremblingly down at our steel-shod feet and promising to be good and keep the peace!

We are sorry to have to speak in derogatory terms of anything calling itself a peace gathering, but in this case there is nothing else to do.

We are glad to note, however, that a good deal of genuine peace work was gotten into the Congress, in spite of the untoward circumstances. The real friends of peace in the State — and there are many of them — managed, through Prof. F. S. Blair of Guilford College, to get the uncorrupted principles of the peace movement represented on the program, and presented in one or two of the best addresses which have been heard in any Peace Congress. Though they were out voted, the true word was spoken, unequivocally and courageously, and it will have its legitimate fruit in time. The North Carolinians are too great and sane a people to be led away, more than temporarily, if at all, by the will-o'-the-wisp of gigantic preparations for war as the speediest and surest road to peace. They will, we feel sure, at an early date, deliver the North Carolina Peace Society from the deadly incubus of militarism which has been designedly fastened upon it, and which has already made it "a by-word and a derision."

The North Carolina Congress will serve one most important end. It will make it clear once more with what a wily and alert foe the cause of peace has to contend. It will arouse, or ought to arouse, the friends of humanity and human brotherhood throughout the nation to be more fully on their guard against the seductions of militarism, which never blushes to rig itself up even in the livery of heaven, in order, if possible, to deceive and lead astray the very elect.

Since this article was written we have learned that the resolutions adopted were put to vote at the end of a long, tiresome session, when barely twenty persons were left in the hall. At the close of Mr. Hobson's speech, which lasted for an hour and a half, the people got up in mass and left the room. Some fourteen out of the twenty remaining voted for the resolutions containing the big-navy recommendation, and of these only one or two were men.